

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 SAO PA 00591 01 OF 02 101512Z

50

ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SCCT-01 SY-05 AID-05 IO-10 SR-02 ORM-01

NIC-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00

NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 EUR-12

(ISO) W

----- 108632

R 101340Z MAR 75

FM AMCONSUL SAO PAULO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6062

INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA

AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 SAO PAULO 591

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, BR

SUBJECT: CARDINAL ARNS DISCUSSES RECENT ARRESTS

1. THE CONSUL GENERAL AND POLOFF'S HALF-HOUR CONVERSATION WITH CARDINAL ARNS MARCH 6 CENTERED ON THE CARDINAL'S VIEWS CONCERNING THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RECENT NATIONAL SECURITY DETENTIONS IN SAO PAULO. THE CARDINAL STRESSED THE STARK CONTRAST BETWEEN THE POLICY IMPLICIT IN THE NEW WAVE OF ARRESTS, ON THE ONE HAND, AND THE PUBLIC POLICY LINE CONTAINED IN PRESIDENT GEISEL'S STATE-OF-THE UNION MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, ON THE OTHER. HE APPLAUDED THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE AS PROMISING A SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENT IN THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SITUATION IN BRAZIL. WHAT PARTICULARLY DISTURBED HIM ABOUT THE ARRESTS WAS THAT THEY WERE DIRECTED IN PART AGAINST VERY PROMINENT AND RESPECTED SAO PAULO AND RIO PROFESSIONAL FIGURES WHO, HE BELIEVED, DID NOT HAVE ANY LINKS TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY. HE WAS PARTICULARLY INCENSED ABOUT THE DETENTION OF MILTON COELHO, AN EDITOR OF REALIDADE AND OTHER EDITORA ABRIL PUBLICATIONS, BUT ALSO MENTIONED SEVERAL LAWYERS, A PROFESSOR OF ARCHITECTURE AT USP AND CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE ARCHITECT'S ASSOCIATION IN SAO PAULO, AND OTHERS. THE OTHER OMINOUS ASPECT OF THE ARRESTS

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 SAO PA 00591 01 OF 02 101512Z

WAS THE BLATANTLY ILLEGAL MANNER IN WHICH

THEY WERE CARRIED OUT. SECURITY AGENTS MADE A POINT OF THE FACT THAT THEY DID NOT HAVE AND DID NOT NEED BENCH WARRANTS AND THEY DELIBERATELY WHISKED THEIR VICTIMS AWAY IN FULL VIEW OF THEIR FAMILIES SO THAT THE LATTER WOULD GET THE TOTAL IMPORT OF THE MESSAGE.

2. THE CARDINAL'S CONCLUSION--AND THIS WAS ALSO THE VIEW OF ALL OF THE MEMBERS OF THE SAO PAULO ARCHDIOCESAN COMMISSION FOR JUSTICE AND PEACE--WAS THAT THE ARRESTS WERE INTENDED BY THE SECURITY AUTHORITIES TO THWART GEISEL'S MOVES TOWARDS A POLITICAL OPENING AND ALSO AS A CLEAR WARNING TO THE CONGRESS NOT TO GET OUT OF LINE. ARNS THOUGHT IT WAS SIGNIFICANT THAT THE ARRESTS IN SAO PAULO AND RIO HAD BEEN COORDINATED AND SPECULATED THAT THEY WERE THE WORK OF THE SAME ILLUSORY "PARALLEL FORCES" HE HAS ALLUDED TO IN PAST CONVERSATIONS WITH US. THE CARDINAL CONJECTURED THAT GEISEL WAS UNDER INTENSE PRESSURE FROM THESE FORCES TO STOP THE DECOMPRESSION PROCESS. THE CARDINAL'S JUDGEMENT WAS THAT GEISEL DID NOT HAVE SUFFICIENT CONTROL TO NEUTRALIZE THE POWER OF THE SECURITY APPARATUS. IF HE TRIED, ARNS CONCLUDED, GEISEL WOULD BE RISKING HIS OWN DOWNFALL.

3. THE CARDINAL RECALLED RECENT FRAGMENTARY PIECES OF EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT THIS VIEW. DURING HIS MEETING LAST YEAR WITH GENERAL GOLBERY, IN THE PRESENCE OF THE FAMILY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE 22 MISSING PERSONS, ARNS POINTEDLY ASKED GOLBERY WHETHER HE HAD THE AUTHORITY TO BACK UP HIS REQUEST TO THE SECURITY AGENCIES FOR INFORMATION CONCERNING THE WHEREABOUTS OF THE MISSING PERSONS. GOLBERY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HE HAD NO ASSURANCE THAT LOWER LEVEL SECURITY AGENTS WOULD COMPLY WITH HIS REQUEST FOR INFORMATION. GOLBERY STRESSED THE LAYERING IN THE GOVERNMENT AND HIS GENERAL INABILITY TO HAVE HIS ORDER ENFORCED AT THE LOWEST LEVELS. THE CARDINAL ALSO POINTED OUT THAT THE GUARDS AT DOI/SECOND ARMY HAVE TOLD HIM THAT NO GENERAL HAS EVER DARED TO STEP FOOT IN THE INSTALLATION, THUS REINFORCING THE VIEW THAT LOCAL SECURITY AGENTS WORK INDEPENDENTLY OF THE SECOND ARMY COMMANDER.

4. AS FOR HIS RELATIONSHIP WITH GOLBERY, THE CARDINAL SAID THAT HE CORRESPONDED WITH THE CHIEF OF THE CIVIL HOUSEHOLD BUT HAD NOT SEEN HIM IN MONTHS. ARNS TELEPHONED GOLBERY LAST WEEK TO PROTEST THE TORTURE OF PRISONERS, BUT GOLBERY WAS OUT. GOLBERY
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 SAO PA 00591 01 OF 02 101512Z

RESPONDED BY TELETYPE THAT DAY. ALL COMMUNICATIONS HAVE BEEN ESSENTIALLY UNFRUITFUL IN DEVELOPING CONCRETE INFORMATION.

5. THE CARDINAL SAID THAT THUS FAR THE LOCAL JUSTICE AND PEACE COMMISSION HAD RECEIVED SWORN TESTIMONY FROM TEN TO TWELVE INDIVIDUALS ALLEGING TORTURE AND ADDITIONAL ORAL STATEMENTS SUGGESTING THAT "SEVERAL DOZEN OTHERS" HAVE UNDERGONE VARIOUS FORMS OF

TORTURE IN RECENT WEEKS IN SAO PAULO. DEFINITIONS OF TORTURE VARY, THE CARDINAL AGREED. HE SAID HE INCLUDED IN HIS BROAD DEFINITION EVEN THE DEPRIVATION OF SLEEP IN CRAMPED CELLS WITH BARE FLOORS AND NO FURNITURE, AS THIS IS INTENDED BY THE POLICE TO WEAR DOWN THE PRISONER. THIS TREATMENT IS ACCOMPANIED BY LACK OF FOOD AND WATER OR SANITARY FACILITIES AND IS SO WIDESPREAD IN POLICE PROCEDURES THAT POLICE OFFICIALS HAVE REFUSED TO REGARD THESE MEASURES AS TORTURE, THE CARDINAL SAID.

6. ARNS THOUGHT THAT THE JUXTAPOSITION OF OFFICIAL NEWS RELEASES WITH RESPECT TO THE FORMAL ARREST OF NEARLY 30 ACCUSED MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IMPLICATED IN THE CLANDESTINE PRESS DISCOVERY WITH ANOTHER NEWS ITEM ABOUT THE TRANSFER OF 30 ODD PRISONERS, ACCOMPANIED BY A PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE SENT BY THE CARDINAL, TO A MODEL CORRECTIONAL FACILITY IN SAO PAULO WAS INTENTIONALLY DESIGNED TO CONFUSE THE PUBLIC INTO BELIEVING THAT THERE HAD NOT BEEN ANY TORTURE INVOLVED IN THE RECENT ARRESTS. THE PRISONERS INVOLVED IN THE TRANSFER HAVE BEEN IN JAIL FOR SOME TIME AND HAVE NO CONNECTION WITH THE RECENT ARRESTS, THE CARDINAL CLARIFIED. HOWEVER, THE CARDINAL THOUGHT IT WAS IRONIC THAT THE POLICE OFFICER NAMED TO HEAD THE MODEL PRISON IS A NOTORIOUS EX-TORTURER OF PRISONERS HIMSELF.

7. REPEATING INFORMATION WE HAVE RECENTLY PICKED UP FROM OTHER SOURCES, THE CARDINAL SAID THAT DOPS AGENTS ARE NO LONGER INVOLVED IN TORTURE IN SAO PAULO. THE SAO PAULO POLITICAL POLICE, WHO ARE NATIVE SONS, DO NOT ENJOY THE ANONYMITY OF THE ARMY'S DOI AGENTS, WHO ALSO CAN BE EASILY TRANSFERRED TO ANOTHER PART OF THE COUNTRY SHOULD THEIR IDENTITIES BECOME PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE. LOCAL POLICE FIGURES, HOWEVER, DO NOT HAVE THIS ADVANTAGE AND, IN A PERIOD WHICH PRESAGES THE POSSIBILITY OF GREATER LIBERALIZATION, DOPS HAS DECIDED TO BEGIN TREATING NATIONAL SECURITY PRISONERS WITH KID GLOVES.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 SAO PA 00591 02 OF 02 101457Z

50

ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SCCT-01 SY-05 AID-05 IO-10 SR-02 ORM-01

NIC-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00

NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 EUR-12

(ISO) W

----- 108627

R 101340Z MAR 75
FM AMCONSUL SAO PAULO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6063
INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 SAO PAULO 591

8. THE CONSUL GENERAL RECALLED THAT LAST SEPTEMBER (SEE SAO PAULO TEL. 1965) THE CARDINAL HAD SHARED WITH US HIS INFORMATION THAT TORTURE INSTRUMENTS IN SAO PAULO WERE BEING DISMANTLED. THE CARDINAL ACKNOWLEDGED THIS, SAYING THAT HE HAD SUCH EVIDENCE AT THE TIME. HIS LATEST INFORMATION, HOWEVER, WAS THAT THE INTERROGATION CHAMBER AT DOI HAD BEEN SOUND PROOFED AND COMPLETELY REEQUIPED WITH NEW TORTURE INSTRUMENTS "IMPORTED FROM ABROAD". HE KNOWS THIS, HE SAID, BECAUSE OF ONE OF THE CEBRAP PROFESSIONALS WAS TORTURED LATE LAST YEAR IN THE SAME ROOM HE HAD BEEN TORTURED IN SOME MONTHS EARLIER. THE CARDINAL ALSO ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THERE WERE RUMORS SOME MONTHS AGO ABOUT THE TRANSFER FROM DOI/2D ARMY OF CERTAIN NOTORIOUS TORTURERS, BUT ALAS THE TORTURE CONTINUES.

9. THE CARDINAL CONFIRMED THAT HE HAD ATTEMPTED TO SEE EX-FEDERAL DEPUTY MARCO ANTONIO COELHO AT DOI/SAO PAULO, PRIOR TO THE TV FILMING SESSION, BECAUSE HE HAD RECEIVED DENUNCIATIONS OF BARBARIC TORTURE IN HIS CASE. THE CARDINAL COULD NOT GET PAST THE GUARDS, HOWEVER. IN AN ASIDE, THE CARDINAL SAID HE HAD DEFINITIVE INFORMATION THAT THE EX-DEPUTY WAS INDEED BADLY TORTURED.

10. THE CARDINAL GAVE SOME SIGNIFICANCE TO THE FACT THAT PRESIDENT GEISEL RECENTLY HAD MET WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CNBB. HERETOFORE, CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 SAO PA 00591 02 OF 02 101457Z

BRAZILIAN PRESIDENTS HAVE MET WITH CNBB REPRESENTATIVES FROM TIME TO TIME ONLY IN THEIR INDIVIDUAL CAPACITIES AS ARCHBISHOPS. GEISEL'S MEETING WITH THE NEWLY-ELECTED MEMBERS OF THE CNBB BOARD, NONE OF WHOM ARE ARCHBISHOPS, IN EFFECT ACCORDED NEW STATUS TO THE CONFEDERATION. HOWEVER, THE MEETING WAS STRICTLY PROTOCOLARY, AND NOTHING OF SUBSTANCE WAS DISCUSSED. NOT EVEN DIVORCE.

11. THE CARDINAL THOUGHT THAT THE CONGRESSIONAL OPPOSITION PARTY SPONSORS OF THE DIVORCE PROJECT WERE AFTER BIGGER GAME. THEIR ULTERIOR OBJECTIVE, HE SAID, WAS TO SET A PRECEDENT FOR AMENDING THE CONSTITUTION IN ORDER TO FACILITATE CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM IN THE POLITICAL AREA.
HEFLIN

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL REPRESSION, NATIONAL SECURITY, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, POLITICAL SITUATION, POLICE FORCES, ARRESTS, PROFESSIONAL PERSONNEL, PRISONERS WEL FARE
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 10 MAR 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: blochd0
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975SAOPA00591
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750083-0596
From: SAO PAULO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750366/aaaachhr.tel
Line Count: 219
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION ARA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: blochd0
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 23 JUN 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <03 SEP 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <04 SEP 2003 by GolinoFR>; WITHDRAWN <21 Jun 2005 by BoyleJA, PRIVACY>; RELEASED <23 JUN 2005 by coburnhl>; APPROVED <23 JUN 2005 by blochd0>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CARDINAL ARNS DISCUSSES RECENT ARRESTS
TAGS: PINT, BR, (ARNS, CARDINAL)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006